



Draft:Role of the Sri Lankan Home Guards in the Sri Lankan Civil War



Review waiting, please be patient.

This may take 2 months or more, since drafts are reviewed in no specific order. There are 2,739 pending submissions [waiting for review](#).

- If the submission is **accepted**, then this page will be moved into the article space.
- If the submission is **declined**, then the reason will be posted here.
- In the meantime, you can continue to improve this submission by editing normally.

Where to get help

- If you need help **editing or submitting your draft**, please **ask us a question** (https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Wikipedia:WikiProject_Articles_for_creation/Help_desk/New_question&withJS=MediaWiki:AFCHD-wizard.js&page=Draft:Role_of_the_Sri_Lankan_Home_Guards_in_the_Sri_Lankan_Civil_War) at the AfC Help Desk or get **live help** from experienced editors. These venues are only for help with editing and the submission process, not to get reviews.
- If you need **feedback on your draft**, or if the review is taking a lot of time, you can try asking for help on the [talk page](#) of a [relevant WikiProject](#). Some WikiProjects are more active than others so a speedy reply is not guaranteed.

How to improve a draft

- [Wikipedia:Contributing to Wikipedia](#) – a basic overview on how to edit Wikipedia.
- [Help:Wikitext](#) – how to use the markup
- [Help:Referencing for beginners](#) – how to include references
- [Wikipedia:Article development](#) – how to develop your article
- [Wikipedia:Writing better articles](#) – how to improve your article
- [Wikipedia:Verifiability](#) – make sure your article includes [reliable third-party sources](#)

You can also browse [Wikipedia:Featured articles](#) and [Wikipedia:Good articles](#) to find examples of Wikipedia's best writing on topics similar to your proposed article.

Improving your odds of a speedy review

To improve your odds of a faster review, tag your draft with relevant WikiProject tags using the button below. This will let reviewers know a new draft has been submitted in their area of interest. For instance, if you wrote about a female astronomer, you would want to add the *Biography*, *Astronomy*, and *Women scientists* tags.

Add tags to your draft

(https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia:WikiProject_Articles_for_creation/Add_WikiProject_tags?withJS=MediaWiki:AFC-add-project-tags.js&title=Draft:Role_of_the_Sri_Lankan_Home_Guards_in_the_Sri_Lankan_Civil_War)

Editor resources

- *Easy tools*: [Citation bot](https://citations.toolforge.org/process_page.php?edit=automated_tools&slow=1&page=Draft:Role_of_the_Sri_Lankan_Home_Guards_in_the_Sri_Lankan_Civil_War) (https://citations.toolforge.org/process_page.php?edit=automated_tools&slow=1&page=Draft:Role_of_the_Sri_Lankan_Home_Guards_in_the_Sri_Lankan_Civil_War) ([help](#)) | *Advanced*: [Fix bare URLs](https://tools.wmflabs.org/refill/result.php?page=Draft:Role_of_the_Sri_Lankan_Home_Guards_in_the_Sri_Lankan_Civil_War&defaults=y) (https://tools.wmflabs.org/refill/result.php?page=Draft:Role_of_the_Sri_Lankan_Home_Guards_in_the_Sri_Lankan_Civil_War&defaults=y)

Reviewer tools

- [Instructions](#) · [What links here](#) · [Role of the Sri Lankan Home Guards in the Sri Lankan Civil War](#) (talk: + (https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Talk:Role_of_the_Sri_Lankan_Home_Guards_in_the_Sri_Lankan_Civil_War&action=edit&editintro=Template:Afc_submission/banner_editintro&preload=Template:Afc_submission/banner_preload) · [bio](https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Talk:Role_of_the_Sri_Lankan_Home_Guards_in_the_Sri_Lankan_Civil_War&action=edit&editintro=Template:Afc_submission/banner_editintro&preload=Template:Afc_submission/banner_preload_(bio))) ([https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Talk:Role_of_the_Sri_Lankan_Home_Guards_in_the_Sri_Lankan_Civil_War&action=edit&editintro=Template:Afc_submission/banner_editintro&preload=Template:Afc_submission/banner_preload_\(bio\)\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Talk:Role_of_the_Sri_Lankan_Home_Guards_in_the_Sri_Lankan_Civil_War&action=edit&editintro=Template:Afc_submission/banner_editintro&preload=Template:Afc_submission/banner_preload_(bio)))) · ([log](https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Index.php&title=Special:Log&page=Role_of_the_Sri_Lankan_Home_Guards_in_the_Sri_Lankan_Civil_War) (https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Index.php&title=Special:Log&page=Role_of_the_Sri_Lankan_Home_Guards_in_the_Sri_Lankan_Civil_War)) · [Copyvios report](https://copyvios.toolforge.org/?lang=en&project=wikipedia&title=Draft:Role_of_the_Sri_Lankan_Home_Guards_in_the_Sri_Lankan_Civil_War&url=refill) (https://copyvios.toolforge.org/?lang=en&project=wikipedia&title=Draft:Role_of_the_Sri_Lankan_Home_Guards_in_the_Sri_Lankan_Civil_War&url=refill) · [reFill](https://refill.toolforge.org/result.php?page=Draft:Role_of_the_Sri_Lankan_Home_Guards_in_the_Sri_Lankan_Civil_War&defaults=y) (https://refill.toolforge.org/result.php?page=Draft:Role_of_the_Sri_Lankan_Home_Guards_in_the_Sri_Lankan_Civil_War&defaults=y) · [Citation Bot](https://citations.toolforge.org/process_page.php?edit=toolbar&slow=1&user=&page=Draft:Role_of_the_Sri_Lankan_Home_Guards_in_the_Sri_Lankan_Civil_War) (https://citations.toolforge.org/process_page.php?edit=toolbar&slow=1&user=&page=Draft:Role_of_the_Sri_Lankan_Home_Guards_in_the_Sri_Lankan_Civil_War) · ([Search: Google, Wikipedia](#) (<https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Special:Search&search=Role+of+the+Sri+Lankan+Home+Guards+in+the+Sri+Lankan+Civil+War&fulltext=Search>)) · Submitted 14 days ago by [RajaRajaC](#) (talk: [https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=User_talk:RajaRajaC&action=edit&editintro=Template:Afc_submission/user_talk_editintro_\(declined\)&preload=Template:Afc_submission/user_talk_preload_\(declined\)&preloadtitle=Your+submission+at+%5B%5BWP%3AAfc%7CArticles+for+creation%5D%5D&section=new](https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=User_talk:RajaRajaC&action=edit&editintro=Template:Afc_submission/user_talk_editintro_(declined)&preload=Template:Afc_submission/user_talk_preload_(declined)&preloadtitle=Your+submission+at+%5B%5BWP%3AAfc%7CArticles+for+creation%5D%5D&section=new)) · + (<https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=User>

Submission declined on 22 October 2025 by [NeoGaze](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/User:NeoGaze) ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/User:NeoGaze](#)) ([talk](#)).

This submission reads more like an essay than an encyclopedia article. Submissions should summarise information in [secondary, reliable sources](#) and not contain opinions or [original research](#). Please write about the topic from a [neutral point of view](#) in an [encyclopedic manner](#).

- If you would like to continue working on the submission, click on the "Edit" tab at the top of the window.
- If you have not resolved the issues listed above, your draft will be declined again and potentially deleted.
- If you need extra help, please **ask us a question** (https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Wikipedia:WikiProject_Articles_for_creation/Help_desk/New_question&withJS=MediaWiki:AFCHD-wizard.js&page=Draft:Role_of_the_Sri_Lankan_Home_Guards_in_the_Sri_Lankan_Civil_War) at the AfC Help Desk or get **live help** from experienced editors.
- Please do not remove reviewer comments or this notice until the submission is accepted.

Where to get help

- If you need help **editing or submitting your draft**, please **ask us a question** (https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Wikipedia:WikiProject_Articles_for_creation/Help_desk/New_question&withJS=MediaWiki:AFCHD-wizard.js&page=Draft:Role_of_the_Sri_Lankan_Home_Guards_in_the_Sri_Lankan_Civil_War) at the AfC Help Desk or get **live help** from experienced editors. These venues are only for help with editing and the submission process, not to get reviews.
- If you need **feedback on your draft**, or if the review is taking a lot of time, you can try asking for help on the [talk page](#) of a [relevant WikiProject](#). Some WikiProjects are more active than others so a speedy reply is not guaranteed.

How to improve a draft

- [Wikipedia:Contributing to Wikipedia](#) – a basic overview on how to edit Wikipedia.
- [Help:Wikitext](#) – how to use the markup
- [Help:Referencing for beginners](#) – how to include references
- [Wikipedia:Article development](#) – how to develop your article
- [Wikipedia:Writing better articles](#) – how to improve your article
- [Wikipedia:Verifiability](#) – make sure your article includes [reliable third-party sources](#)



You can also browse [Wikipedia:Featured articles](#) and [Wikipedia:Good articles](#) to find examples of Wikipedia's best writing on topics similar to your proposed article.

Improving your odds of a speedy review

To improve your odds of a faster review, tag your draft with relevant WikiProject tags using the button below. This will let reviewers know a new draft has been submitted in their area of interest. For instance, if you wrote about a female astronomer, you would want to add the *Biography*, *Astronomy*, and *Women scientists* tags.

Add tags to your draft (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia:WikiProject_Articles_for_creation/Add_WikiProject_tags?withJS=MediaWiki:AFC-add-project-tags.js&title=Draft:Role_of_the_Sri_Lankan_Home_Guards_in_the_Sri_Lankan_Civil_War)

Editor resources

- *Easy tools*: [Citation bot](https://citations.toolforge.org/process_page.php?edit=automated_tools&slow=1&page=Draft:Role_of_the_Sri_Lankan_Home_Guards_in_the_Sri_Lankan_Civil_War) (https://citations.toolforge.org/process_page.php?edit=automated_tools&slow=1&page=Draft:Role_of_the_Sri_Lankan_Home_Guards_in_the_Sri_Lankan_Civil_War) ([help](#)) | *Advanced*: [Fix bare URLs](https://tools.wmflabs.org/refill/result.php?page=Draft:Role_of_the_Sri_Lankan_Home_Guards_in_the_Sri_Lankan_Civil_War&defaults=y) (https://tools.wmflabs.org/refill/result.php?page=Draft:Role_of_the_Sri_Lankan_Home_Guards_in_the_Sri_Lankan_Civil_War&defaults=y)

Declined by [NeoGaze](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/User:NeoGaze) (<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/User:NeoGaze>) 15 days ago. Last edited by [RajaRajaC](#) 8 seconds ago. Reviewer: [Inform author](https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=User_talk:RajaRajaC&action=edit&editintro=Template:Afc_submission/user_talk_editintro_declined&preload=Template:Afc_submission/user_talk_preload_declined&preloadtitle=Your+submission+at+%5B%5BWP%3AAfC%7CArticles+for+creation%5D%5D&section=new) (https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=User_talk:RajaRajaC&action=edit&editintro=Template:Afc_submission/user_talk_editintro_declined&preload=Template:Afc_submission/user_talk_preload_declined&preloadtitle=Your+submission+at+%5B%5BWP%3AAfC%7CArticles+for+creation%5D%5D&section=new).

This draft has been resubmitted and is currently awaiting re-review.

Submission declined on 23 September 2025 by [MarcGarver](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/User:MarcGarver) (<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/User:MarcGarver>) ([talk](#)).

This is not formatted as an article - it is mainly a list of events with no context plus extensive quotes. The quotes are far too long and need replacing with fewer, shorter, quotes backed up by a range of reliable sources.



Declined by [MarcGarver](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/User:MarcGarver) (<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/User:MarcGarver>) 44 days ago.

- **🕒 Comment:** CC-BY-NC-SA 4.0 is NOT a compatible licence due to the non-commercial element. [Nthep \(talk\)](#) 17:42, 4 November 2025 (UTC)
- **🕒 Comment:** There's been a misunderstanding of the situation. The survivor quotes in version 1312929228 are taken from *Massacres of Tamils 1956–2008* (Published by NESoHR & Manitham, 2009) (<https://noolaham.net/project/858/85760/85760.pdf>), pages 148–153 for (Tiraiakerny Massacre). The book is licensed under CC BY-NC-SA 4.0, which should allow me to reuse excerpts from Survivors. The confusion likely happened because the opening line used the same one-liner as *Tamil Guardian* (<https://www.tamilguardian.com/content/thiraiakerny-marks-35-years-1990-massacre-calls-exhume-mass-grave>), but the quotes themselves are from the NESoHR book. I will adjust the introductions for each Survivor Testimonies if the version is restored back to 1312929228 with Tiraiakerny Massacre Survivor Testimonies. [RajaRajaC Talk](#) 20:25, 3 November 2025 (UTC)
- **🕒 Comment:** I regrettably have to decline this draft, which is a shame because the subject is clearly notable and well-sourced. The issue is that it reads like an essay rather than an encyclopedic article. This is an issue dealing more with presentation than core content. If I knew more about the topic I could offer some points to look for, but as of now I can only suggest you take a look at the style and tone of other articles that are more or less similar, or ask for further feedback at the [AFC Help desk](#) [NeoGaze \(talk\)](#) 12:38, 22 October 2025 (UTC)
- **🕒 Comment:** I have provided the following clarifications and justifications regarding the draft:
 - * **Historical Significance:** The topic holds clear historical significance. Applying overly restrictive criteria may inadvertently limit public access to important and underrepresented aspects of history.
 - * **Source Quality:** While testimony excerpts have been shortened, their inclusion remains crucial. These first-hand accounts from survivors and eyewitnesses provide direct historical insight and serve as valuable primary sources that enrich the documented narrative.
 - * **Citation Density:** The article demonstrates strong sourcing, with a high number of citations relative to its length. This reflects a clear effort toward verifiability and compliance with sourcing guidelines. Similar historical entries with fewer citations and less depth have been accepted, indicating an established precedent for inclusion when source quality is high.
 - * **Neutral Intent:** The article is not written to promote a particular viewpoint but to present verifiable, well-sourced information in line with Wikipedia's mission to make knowledge freely available. The content contributes to broader historical understanding and supports the platform's role as a public educational resource.
 - * **Community Collaboration:** Endorsing the article would allow for ongoing community engagement and refinement. Rejecting it at this point would prematurely halt the collaborative process and limit opportunities for constructive improvement.

Note from RajaRajaC to Reviewer: Since the last review, I've gone through the whole article a few times. I added more background info and shortened all of the quotes as much as I can, but kept the important parts since the survivor and eyewitness accounts give useful historical insight. I also added a table showing the attacks in order, and included a section on what happened to the Home Guard Service after the Sri Lankan Civil War. There's now some explanation of which massacres were carried out as revenge for the Kattankudy attack. I added images to help with context, improved the formatting, split the content into sections, and used a variety of reliable sources.

User:[RajaRajaC \(talk\)](#) 08:04, 28 September 2025 (UTC)

Background

The Home Guards in Sri Lanka were local auxiliary units raised to protect Muslim villages in areas affected by communal and insurgent violence.^[1] The Home Guard system itself traces its origins to the early 1980s and was formalised into the National Home Guard Service in the mid-1980s under the Mobilisation and Supplementary Forces Act, No. 40 of 1985, which creates the legal framework for establishing and administering supplementary forces, reserves and other civil defence formations.^{[2][3][4]} Distinct Muslim Home Guard units were later established during 1990 in response to a wave of attacks on Muslim communities along the east coast; these units operated as lightly armed, village-based defence detachments often under local police oversight.^{[1][5]}

In 2006, the Home Guard system underwent a major reorganisation. Through a government gazette No. 1462/20 of 13 September 2006, the Home Guard Service was reorganised as the Civil Security Department (CSD) and placed within the Ministry of Defence, a move designed to regularise training, command structures and pay for the auxiliary force and to integrate it more closely with national security institutions.^{[6][1][2][7]}

The Muslim Home Guards were mainly stationed where tensions were rising, concentrating in areas where different groups coexisted or where control was constantly challenged. This situates the role of the Home Guards within the wider context of the Sri Lankan Civil War (1983–2009), which was marked by widespread violence with numerous massacres targeting Tamil civilians.^[8] These tragic events are part of a larger history of ethnic conflict between the Tamil minority and the Sinhala majority, exacerbated by the rise of the Tamil Tigers (Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, LTTE), a separatist group seeking autonomy.^{[9][10]} The following sections outline some of the most significant massacres, providing a clearer picture of the brutality faced by the Tamil community during the war.

Despite the severity and scale of the documented massacres involving Sri Lankan Home Guards, no investigations into the Massacres have ever been undertaken to hold the perpetrators accountable.^{[11][12]} Neither the Sri Lankan state nor its judicial system has pursued legal proceedings against members of the Home Guards alleged to have participated in attacks on Tamil civilians.^[10] This absence of accountability reflects a broader pattern of impunity that has long characterized Sri Lanka's approach to wartime abuses, particularly those committed by actors aligned with the state.^{[13][14]}

The Sri Lankan Home Guards operated with official support, including arms and training provided by the Sri Lankan military, and frequently acted in coordination with state forces.^{[1][15]} This collaboration contributed to a series of massacres and systematic attacks on Tamil villages, particularly in the eastern districts; namely Trincomalee, Amparai, Batticaloa. Similar patterns of violence also emerged in Mullaitivu, in the Northern Province, also witnessed such violence where interethnic tensions between Tamils and Muslims had already been exacerbated by the war.^[1]

Attacks in Chronological Order

Attack	Date	Location	Death Toll	Injuries, Vulnerable Victims & Property Damages	Perpetrators	References
Massacre of 18 Tamil fishermen	9 December 1984	Mullaitivu	18		Sri Lankan Home Guards	[16]
Othiyamalai massacre	2 December 1984	Othiyamalai, Mullaitivu	32		Sri Lankan Army with the assistance of Sri Lankan Home Guards	[17][18][19][20]
<u>1985 Trincomalee massacres</u>	May – September 1985	Several places in Trincomalee	280+		Sri Lankan Army with the assistance of Sri Lankan Home Guards & Sri Lankan Navy	[21][22][23]
Murugapuri massacre	8 September 1985	Murugapuri Trincomalee	3		Sri Lankan Army with the assistance of Sri Lankan Home Guards	[24]
Nilaveli massacre	16 September 1985	Nilaveli, Trincomalee	40		Sri Lankan Army with the assistance of Sri Lankan Home Guards	[25][26]
Kalvettu massacre	20 September 1985	Kalvettu, Ampara	15	10 injured	Sri Lankan Home Guards	[27]
Anpuvalipuram Rd shooting	10 December 1985	Anpuvalipuram, Trincomalee	0	2 Tamil children injured and hospitalized	Sri Lankan Home Guards	[28]
Rape and murder of 2 Tamil women in Muthur	25 December 1985	Muthur, Trincomalee	2	2 women raped	Sri Lankan Home Guards	[29]
Akkaraipattu massacre	19 February 1986	Akkaraipattu, Amparai	80	5 women raped	Sri Lankan Army with the assistance of Sri Lankan Home Guards	[30][31][32][33]
Seruvila massacre	12 June 1986	Seruvila, Trincomalee	21	2 aid workers injured	Sri Lankan Home Guards	[34][35]
1986 Thambalakamam massacre	28 June 1986	Thambalakamam, Trincomalee	34		Sri Lankan Home Guards	[36][37]

Mollipothana massacre	10 July 1986	Mollipothana, Trincomalee	11		Sri Lankan Home Guards	[38]
Sammanthurai massacre	10 June 1990	Sammanthurai, Amparai	37		Sri Lankan Home Guards	[39]
Kalmunai massacre that occurred on July 10, 1990 (Note: There are 6 Separate Instances of Kalmunai massacre from (1) 1985, (1) 1985, (4) 1990 so the Date is required in this field to Distinguish)	10 July 1990	Kalmunai, Amparai	31		Sri Lankan Army with the assistance of Sri Lankan Home Guards	[40]
Xavierpuram massacre	7 August 1990	Alikampai, Amparai	7	1 disappeared, 12 badly injured; houses, church and school burned	Sri Lankan Home Guards	[41][42]
Veeramunai Massacres	20 June 1990 – 15 August 1990	Veeramunai, Amparai	250+	2,000 homes and a Hindu temple set on fire	Sri Lankan Home Guards	[43][44][45]
Tirai Kerny massacre	6 August 1990	Tirai Kerny, Amparai	54+	Victims included women and children	Sri Lankan Home Guards	[46][47][48][49]
(Rev Fr. Eugene John Hebert - American) and His Tamil Driver	15 August 1990	Eravur, Batticaloa	2		Sri Lankan Home Guards with the assistance of Sri Lankan Army	[50][51][52][53][54]
Eastern University massacre	5 September 1990	Vantharumulai, Batticaloa	158		Sri Lankan Army with the assistance of Sri Lankan Home Guards	[55][56][57]
Sathurukondan Massacre	9 September 1990	Sathurukondan, Batticaloa	205	5 infants, 42 children below the age of 10, 9 pregnant women and 28 seniors that were over 68 were victims of this attack	Sri Lankan Army with the assistance of Sri Lankan Home Guards	[58][55][59][60][61][62][63][64][65]
Savukkadi massacre	20 September 1990	Savukkadi, Batticaloa	33	10 children and an infant were burnt to death.	Sri Lankan Army with the assistance of Sri Lankan Home Guards	[66][67]

Thalavai massacre	20 September 1990	Thalavai, Batticaloa	9+		Sri Lankan Army with the assistance of Sri Lankan Home Guards	[67][68]
1990 Puthukkudiyiruppu massacre	21 September 1990	Puthukkudiyiruppu, Mullaitivu	17	Victims included women and children. Serious injury of 27 others	Sri Lankan Home Guards	[69][70]
1990 Valaichchenai massacre	22 December 1990	Valaichchenai, Batticaloa	9		Sri Lankan Home Guards	[71]
1991 Eravur massacre	20 February 1991	Eravur, Batticaloa	6	25 seriously wounded injured	Sri Lankan Home Guards	[72][73]
<u>Polonnaruwa Massacres</u>	April, 30 1992	Muthugal and Karapola	89+	13 children under the age of 10 were victims of this attack	Sri Lankan Home Guards	[74][75][5][76]
4th Colony village massacre	24 September 1997	Amparai	8-15		Sri Lankan Home Guards	[77]
1998 Tampalakamam massacre	1 February 1998	Tampalakamam, Trincomalee	8		Sri Lankan Home Guards & Sri Lankan Police	[78][79]

Between 1984 and 1998, there were 28 documented incidents involving attacks on civilians, by the Sri Lankan Home Guards a state-sanctioned paramilitary group. Prior to the Kattankudy Mosque Massacre that occurred on 3 August 1990, 16 recorded attacks involving Home Guards targeted civilian populations. These incidents were part of the broader pattern of violence during the early stages of intensified conflict between Tamil militants and the Home Guards.

On 3 August 1990, an attack on two mosques in Kattankudy resulted in the deaths of over 100 Muslim worshippers.^[80] The massacre was widely attributed to the LTTE, though no public or judicial investigation has conclusively identified the perpetrators.^{[81][82]} According to UTHR, local testimonies collected in their Report 5, Chapter 2 (“A Bloody Stalemate”) ^[83] suggests that while there was widespread belief in LTTE involvement, there remained ambiguity amongst residents about who was actually responsible for the attack and its leadership. A civilian known locally as “Ranjith Appa” had been reportedly involved in the massacre, but the extent of his role is unclear.^[83] UTHR also observed that “no thought was given to concealment,” a detail interpreted by some as suggesting the attack may not have been centrally planned, or that the LTTE’s chain of command was loose in this instance.

In the aftermath of the Kattankudy incident, seven additional massacres involving Home Guards took place between August and September 1990; these appear to have been retaliatory in nature. Subsequently, in October 1990, the LTTE expelled the Muslim population from the Northern Province in an effort to prevent communal riots and consolidate territorial dominance. This mass displacement significantly strained Tamil-Muslim relations.^[84] Following this expulsion, only five more massacres involving Muslim Home Guards were documented over an eight-year period. This reduction in frequency may be attributed to shifts in territorial control during the conflict, particularly in areas previously contested between government and LTTE forces.

Most of the massacres carried out by the Sri Lankan Home Guards were predominantly concentrated in the eastern districts, specifically in Trincomalee, Amparai, and Batticaloa. These three districts held strategic and significant economic value due to their agricultural productivity and access to coastal trade routes. ^[1] Alongside these eastern districts, Mullaitivu in the Northern Province also experienced significant violence, as it was a critical stronghold for the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), making it a key target in the broader military efforts to weaken the separatist movement. ^[1]

In these regions, Tamil populations often lived as minorities amongst Muslim communities. The combination of the Tamils’ minority status and the regions’ strategic importance made these areas frequent sites of communal violence. Home Guards, operating in coordination with Sri Lankan state security forces (local police and army), are reported to have played a vital role in exacerbating tensions and conducting operations aimed at destabilizing and damaging Tamil-Muslim relations, in order to assert control over the contested territories.^[10]

Post-May 2009: End of Sri Lankan Civil War

On July 4, 2009, a public disarmament event involving Muslim militant groups in Sri Lanka's Eastern Province was held at the Kattankudy Jumma Meera Mosque. The event was conducted in the context of a government-declared amnesty program aimed at encouraging the surrender of arms and reintegration of local militant groups. [85][86] The event took place at Kattankudy Jumma Meera Mosque on July 4, 2009 afternoon 3:00 p.m, in the presence of the Eastern Deputy Inspector General of Police (D.I.G.) Edison Gunatilake and Provincial Minister M.L.A.M. Hisbullah. [87] Images of the event were later circulated and can be found on the AFP Fact Check website (<https://factcheck.afp.com/no-these-photos-do-not-show-recent-weapons-handover-muslim-groups-sri-lanka>) documenting the disarmament event.

At the time of the amnesty, the Sri Lankan Army and Police intensified its security operations in Sri Lanka's Eastern Province during this time to capture three high-profile individuals identified as Police Faiz, Muthur Nizam, and Ruhul Haq; figures who are believed to have played a critical role in the radicalization and recruitment of Muslim youth in the region. [87][85]

By July 4, 2009, the authorities had already picked up seven suspects, in a series of precision raids led by special police units in Kattankudy and Eravur. [87] One of those raids hit a jihadi hideout where they found two suspects and extensive weapons caches including seven T-56 rifles, SMG weapons, anti-personnel mines, claymore mines, detonators and high frequency communication sets. [87][85] It was a clear sign of how deeply armed and organized these groups were.

Security officials confirmed that investigations were underway to establish whether the individuals in question maintained affiliations with international extremist networks such as al-Qaeda, as well as identifying potential sources of external funding that may have supported their operations. [85]

Extensively reported Massacres involving Sri Lankan Home Guards

Among the many incidents of violence during the Sri Lankan Civil War, certain massacres involving Sri Lankan Home Guards are remembered for their scale, brutality, and their long-term impact on inter-ethnic relations in affected regions. While initially established as a rural defence force to protect Sri Lankan villages from insurgent attacks, the Home Guards increasingly became involved in offensive operations alongside the military. Over time, the Home Guard system became closely tied to operations targeting Tamil civilians. The following are some the most well-known and thoroughly documented cases involving Home Guards, with an emphasis on their historical context, scale and consequences.

Othiyamalai Massacre

One of the earliest documented massacres involving Home Guards occurred on 2 December 1984 in the village of Othiyamalai, located in the Mullaitivu District where Sri Lankan Army personnel and Home Guards executed 32 Tamil civilians. [88] Of these, 27 men were stripped, tied up and shot on the spot, while five others were detained and executed later. [89] The events in Othiyamalai marked the beginning of a troubling alliance between state forces and auxiliary groups, a dynamic that would contribute to even more widespread atrocities in the years ahead. A very clear example was the Veeramunai Massacre in 1990. [90][91][92]

Veeramunai Massacre

The Veeramunai Massacres, which occurred between 20 June and 15 August 1990 in Veeramunai village of the Amparai district, resulted in the deaths of over 250 Tamil civilians, and the destruction of more than 2,000 homes [93] in attacks carried out by Sri Lankan forces and Muslim Home Guards. During this period, a local Hindu temple was also set on fire. [94] The attack was part of a broader pattern of retaliation by the Sri Lankan government forces aimed at Tamil villages, which were suspected of supporting the Tamil Tigers. The scale and coordination of the violence suggested a premeditated strategy that extended beyond conventional military engagement. [95] Notably, this was not the first instance of violence in Veeramunai; a similar massacre occurred in 1954 [43], indicating a historical pattern of conflict involving the Tamil population in the area.

Akkaraipattu Massacre

In addition to these major incidents, earlier massacres demonstrated similar patterns of coordinated violence. One such case is the Akkaraipattu Massacre, which took place on 19 February 1986 in the village of Udumbankulam. Sri Lankan Army troops, supported by Home Guards, attacked Tamil farm workers while they were performing in daily tasks in the paddy fields, killing at least 80 Tamil farm workers. [30] According to the community leaders of Akkaraipattu, the troops tied the hands of the male farmers and made them sit along the roadside before taking them back to the fields, where they were shot. [96] Several spent ammunition casings were later recovered from the site. [32] In the aftermath of the assault, five Tamil women came forward with reports that they had been raped in the paddy fields during the assault. [33]

Extensively reported Massacres involving Sri Lankan Home Guards (Sorted from Highest to Lowest Casualties) (June 20 – August 15, 1990) Veeramunai Massacre, Amparai – 250 Tamil civilians killed, 2,000 homes and a Hindu temple set on fire by Sri Lankan forces and Sri Lankan Home Guards. (Sept 9, 1990) Sathankudam Massacre, Batticaloa – 184 Tamils killed by the Sri Lankan Army and Sri Lankan Home Guards. 3 infants, 42 children below the age of 10. 2 pregnant women and 21 babies that were 65 and over were victims of this attack. (Sept 5, 1990) Eastern University Refugee Massacre – 158 Tamil refugees killed by Sri Lankan forces and Sri Lankan Home Guards. 158 Tamils that were nothing there were involved and arrested then never seen again. (Feb 19, 1986) Akkaraipattu massacre – Sri Lankan armed forces assisted by Sri Lankan Home Guards attacked the village of Udumbankulam in the Akkaraipattu division and shot dead at least 80 Tamil farm workers at the paddy fields. (Sept 20, 1990) In Savukudi Massacres in Batticaloa, Sri Lankan Army and Sri Lankan Home Guards killed 33 Tamils. 26 Tamil children including 30 children and an infant, were burnt to death and buried in two ditches. Soldiers also shot at fishermen in the waters off the village, killing 7. (Sept 20, 1990) Sri Lankan Home Guards woke people from their homes in Thalawa Ennave. took them to a house under the pretext that the army commanders wanted to meet them, and then murdered 14 Tamils. (Aug 6, 1990) Tiraiyem massacre in Amparai – At least 54 Tamils, including women and children, were killed by Sri Lankan Home Guards. Muslim mobs stormed the village, setting homes ablaze more than 130 men armed with the Trident, the sword, and the tools taken away from the Temple attacked Tamils that sought refuge there. (April 30, 1992) In Muthugal Polonnaruwa Massacres, Sri Lankan Home Guards killed 51 Tamils, including 13 children under the age of 10. In Karapala, 18 Tamils were killed. In total, 83 Tamils were murdered. (Dec 2, 1984) Othiyamalai Massacre, Mullaitivu – 32 Tamils killed by Sri Lankan Army and Sri Lankan Home Guards. Victims were strapped, naked and tied up, 27 men were shot and killed on the spot. 5 had been detained, then murdered at a later date. (Sept 21, 1990) Sri Lankan Home Guards attacked the Puthukkudiyiruppu village in Mullaitivu where 44 Tamils, including women and children, were rounded-up, dragged to the beach, and blinded with axes and swords, leading to the deaths of 17 civilians and the serious injury of 27 others.
--

Appendix 2: Bullet Points Version of the Main Body with Key facts and Dates Emphasized

Tiraiakerny Massacre

In the lead-up to the major wave of massacres occurring in 1990s September, Muslim Home Guards attacked the village of Tiraiakerny in the Amparai district on 6 August, 1990, killing at least 54 Tamil civilians, including women and children.^[97] The attackers used a variety of weapons during the assault, including a spear and a trident removed from the temple's premises, which are traditionally associated with the Hindu deities Murugan and Lord Shiva, respectively, as well as religious tools used in the temple by priests, such as knives, axes, and crowbars. The attackers also set several homes on fire before the assault had even begun.^[98] The Tiraiakerny massacre is one of many attacks during the period of heightened ethnic violence between Tamils and Muslims in the region.^[99]

Polonnaruwa Massacres

On 30 April 1992, in response to an attack on police posts in Alanchipothana the previous day by the Tamil Tigers, two large-scale assaults were launched on the Tamil villages of Muthugal and Karapola by the Sri Lankan Home Guards and policemen. In total, 89 Tamil civilians were killed in this coordinated attack. In Muthugal, 51 people were killed by state-backed Home Guards, among the victims were 13 children below the age of 10.^[74] ^[5] In the neighbouring village of Karapola, another 38 Tamils were killed, marking one of the deadliest retaliatory violence in the region during this period.^[76]

The 1990s Black September Massacres

The most concentrated wave of massacres involving Home Guards occurred in September 1990, a period that has come to be known among Tamils as Black September.^{[100][101][67][102]} The trigger for this series of events was the Kattankudy Mosque Massacre. Though attributed to the LTTE, the perpetrators were never conclusively identified through a judicial process.^{[81][82][83]} In the weeks that followed, several massacres targeting Tamil civilians were carried out by Muslim Home Guards and Sri Lankan military across the Eastern Province.

Eastern University Massacre

On 5 September, 1990, 158 Tamil civilians sheltering at the Eastern University campus in Batticaloa were killed. These individuals, who had sought shelter from ongoing nearby violence at the University, were rounded up and arrested by the Sri Lankan military and Muslim Home Guards before being executed.^[103] ^[104] Following their arrest, the individuals were forcibly removed from the premises.^{[105][106]} Given the suspicious circumstance, it is presumed that they were subsequently executed as none of these victims were ever seen again, and their bodies were never found.^[107] No official investigation or legal proceedings were conducted against those suspected of involvement, leaving the case unresolved.^{[108][109][110][111]}

Sathurukondan Massacre

The Sathurukondan massacre occurred just four days after the Eastern University massacre and was carried out on 9 September 1990 in Batticaloa. A total of 184 Tamil civilians were killed by the Sri Lankan Army, with the support of Muslim Home Guards.^[112] Among the victims were five infants, 42 children under the age of 10, and 28 seniors.^[113] The massacre has been widely cited as an example of state-backed violence in which non-combatant civilians were specifically targeted.^[114] The event is also noted for its scale, for the indiscriminate nature of the violence that targeted Tamil civilians, regardless of age or gender.^{[58][102]}

Savukkadi Massacre & Thalaivai Massacre

The massacre at Eastern University was soon followed by another atrocity only two weeks later. On September 20, 1990, two more massacres occurred in close succession.^[67] In total, more than 42 Tamil civilians were killed in this coordinated attack. In Savukkadi, 33 Tamils were killed, among them were 26 villagers, including ten children and an infant, who were burned alive and buried in ditches.^{[103][66]} The other seven victims were Tamil fishermen who were shot and killed while off the coast near Savukkadi.^[67]

In addition to these incidents, in the neighbouring village of Thalaivai in Eravur, Muslim Home Guards entered the Tamil settlement in the early morning hours and woke residents from their homes, claiming they were required to attend a meeting with an army commander.^[68] Once the victims were gathered in a forested area, they were executed. More than nine Tamils were killed in this particular attack.^[67] The violence continued into the next day in Puthukkudiyiruppu, Mullaitivu.

1990 Puthukkudiyiruppu Massacre

On 21 September 1990, in Puthukkudiyiruppu, Mullaitivu, Muslim Home Guards rounded up 44 Tamil civilians, including women and children and forced them onto the beach; where the victims were attacked with knives and swords.^[69] This massacre resulted in 17 deaths while 27 others sustained serious injuries.^[70]

The failure to investigate these incidents despite credible witness testimonies, human rights reports, and international attention has reinforced a culture in which state-affiliated groups operated with little fear of legal consequence. In some cases, this impunity contributed to the normalization of violence, where extrajudicial killings and reprisal attacks against civilians occurred without restraint or oversight. The unwillingness to confront state-linked violence not only undermines the rule of law but also continues to impede post-war reconciliation and justice for affected communities. The extent and nature of these abuses are further illuminated in the following section through testimonies that reveal the lived realities behind the statistics and reports.

Veeramunai Massacre, Amparai Testimonies

The North-East Secretariat on Human Rights (NESOHR) documented the abuses from the Veeramunai massacre by collecting survivor testimonies and publishing the names of the victims.^{[43][44][45]} The following summary of events is based on those reports:

On 20 June 1990, Sri Lankan Army personnel entered Malwaththa and Veeramunai, reportedly opening fire on civilians and burning houses. Many residents from surrounding villages fled to the Veeramunai Temple, which had been converted into a makeshift refugee camp.^{[43][44]} The army reportedly created a climate of terror, targeting people in their homes, on the road, and in paddy fields.^[44] People on their way to work were stopped and killed; with the dead bodies subsequently cremated. Males over the age of fifteen were targeted, with youths and children among those arrested; later taken away under the pretext of questioning.^{[43][44]} One Sri Lankan army officer was overheard telling an onlooker at the Veeramunai temple that he would "order his men to shoot every man and woman in the area" before detaining some youths.

Survivors described severe physical abuse during detention, with visible bruises and injuries on their bodies providing clear evidence of the mistreatment and torture they were put through.^[44] Those arrested were reportedly taken to "Sammanthurai Al-Matjan Muslim School", where they were beaten.^{[43][44]} Only a small fraction of the detainees survived, with reports indicating that many victims were killed, their bodies burned, and hidden in surrounding areas such as Malaikadu.^{[43][44]} Muslim Home Guards reportedly covered the remains of the dead with several tractor loads of paddy husks in order to cremate the dead bodies.^{[43][44]}

Eyewitness accounts also indicate that some of the killings were carried out by armed men in civilian clothing, as they witnessed them abduct people with an army truck and then execute the groups of villagers in nearby forests.^{[43][44]} Mr. Madasamy Kathirkamamoorthy, who survived the massacre, recounted being tied behind his back and beaten. He stated that many of the victims were seen with blood dripping as a result of this torture and at the end of the assault were forced to organize themselves in a line, before being executed using the machine guns held by the Perpetrators.^{[43][44]} However, Mr. Madasamy Kathirkamamoorthy's quick thinking helped him to survive this massacre. By turning to his side, he avoided fatal injuries, sustaining gunshot wounds only to his arms and legs. As the other victims attempted to get up, they were repeatedly shot until they laid motionless. However, he managed to drag himself away from the scene, slowly moving to safety. The operation resulted in numerous deaths, widespread terror, and forced displacement of the local population.

Sathurukondan Massacre, Batticaloa Testimonies

A survivor of the Sathurukondan Massacre, Mr. K. Krishnakumar, recounted the events of that day in an interview with TamilNet recorded in 1997.^{[58][114][55]} The following summary of events is based on those reports:

On the morning of 20 September, 1990, the Sri Lankan army had cordoned off the villages of Sathurukondan, Panichchayadi, Pillaiyaradi and Kokkuvil by 10 am. According to the survivor, four masked men entered the hall at the Sathurukondan Boys' Town army camp around 7pm and picked K. Krishnakumar, along with K. Jeevaratnam, C. Sinnaththamby, and T. Kumar. They were escorted to the camp's backyard with the assurance that they will be released after a brief inquiry.^{[62][64][65]} Instead, the men were forcibly dragged to a 20-foot by 5-foot pit, surrounded by twenty-five (25) armed Sri Lankan army soldiers.

Mr. K. Krishnakumar was struck with a cudgel and fell face down. As the other three victims cried out in terror, the soldiers gagged and stripped them. Subsequently, they were forced towards the edge of the large pit, where they were slashed with swords.^{[64][65]} Mr. K. Krishnakumar himself was hurled against a cashew tree and then stabbed in the chest with a long kris knife. Despite, the lost blood, he didn't lose consciousness.^[114]

This is when four additional men who were brought to the pit, were also hacked to death and pushed into it. Subsequently, the soldiers brought in two pregnant women, who were stripped naked and tortured, as they had their breasts cut off.^{[64][65]} The Sri Lankan army soldiers also cut their abdomens open before forcing their bodies into the pit. Additionally, the soldiers brought several other females who were also stripped naked and then proceeded to rape them repeatedly. The soldiers also subjected them to mutilation by severing their breasts; after which at least three of these victims were discarded into a nearby well.^[114]

Mr. K. Krishnakumar is the sole survivor of the Sathurukondan massacre who witnessed the execution of others, including the rape and murder of girls, the mutilation of pregnant women, and the burning of bodies with tires.^{[64][115]} He managed to crawl out during the chaos and later sought help from a passer-by to reach a hospital. His testimony was recorded by the Batticaloa Peace Committee, and detailed the systematic slaughter of 184 to 185 Tamil civilians from Sathurukondan and surrounding villages.^{[59][58][62]}

Eastern University Refugee Massacre, Vantharumoolai Testimonies

Lecturers at the University provided refuge and raised a white flag at the entrance. According to an eyewitness account documented by UTHR:^[116]

"As the army advanced into the villages of Kondayankerny, Sungankerny and Karuvakkerny, they opened fire and began hacking the people, resulting in multiple fatalities. The Army had access to a bulldozer, and it was used to bury the bodies; without any delay in between the killings. The army arrested forty-eight (48) residents from those three villages and forced them to move to the

Valaichchenai main road, where they were executed and their bodies buried within the premises of a private property.”^[116]

Following the arrest of 138 individuals, the witness himself was detained on his way home and held for nine days, during which he observed the killing of detainees inside the camp.^[116] The witness further stated that:

“Over the course of seven days, Eastern University campus had become a shelter for fifty-five thousand (55,000) refugees. On day eight, the army accompanied by Muslim Home Guards advanced into the campus, disregarding the white flag that had been put up. While a member of the army spoke to us, two empty buses came to the campus. With the help of Muslim Home Guards, the Sri Lankan army soldiers ordered the people to line up and picked 138 youths from the camp (subsequently revised up to 158). Families and parents cried out and begged, but the 138 youths were forcibly taken to an unknown location. Later, we visited every army camp to inquire about their whereabouts, but the army denied any knowledge of them.”^[116]

Thangamuthu Jayasingam, who served as the officer in charge of the Vantharumoolai refugee camp at the time, later recorded in 2015 that he had spoken to “various national and international persons” and had provided testimony before the Presidential Commission on Missing Persons in 2004.^[117] Reflecting on the events, he stated:

“I gave them the names of all the army officers involved in the operation, along with the Army Major General who came to the camp three days later, on 8th September. I am not aware whether any investigations have been conducted since then.”^[118]

Akkaraipattu massacre, Amparai Testimonies

According to the local leaders in Akkaraipattu reported that the victims were threshing paddy when Sri Lankan army troops emerged from the nearby jungle, firing into the air.^[31] The men were rounded up, tied and then returned to the fields, where they were executed. Reports indicate that their bodies were piled on top of a harvested, dry rice crop and set on fire, with several used ammunition casings later recovered from the site.^[32] In the aftermath of the assault, five Tamil women came forward with reports that they had been raped in the paddy fields during the assault.^[33]

The event was documented by journalist Humphrey Hawksley in The Guardian on February 22, 1986.^[31]

The incident has been cited as an example of ethnic cleansing and systematic violence against the Tamil population in Sri Lanka's Eastern Province during that period.^[31]

Tiraikerny massacre, Amparai Testimonies

The North-East Secretariat on Human Rights (NESOHR) documented the abuses from the Tiraikerny massacre by collecting survivor testimonies and publishing the names of the victims.^{[47][46]} The following summary of events is based on testimony from a survivor:

In the early hours, Tamil villagers reported hearing the cries of Muslim women, mourning the deaths of several men from their community who had gone to work in the paddy fields at Alimadakadu. Later on in the day, the fellow inhabitants of the village warned that an armed Muslim mob, reportedly heavily armed, was advancing towards Thiraikerny to attack Tamils. The Tamil families in Tiraikerny, including women and children, fled their homes and sought refuge in the Pillaiyar Temple.^[98]

A mob of more than one hundred and fifty (150) men, armed with knives, swords, sickles, and clubs, approached the temple, shouting slogans and calling on Muslims to unite to attack the Tamil villagers.^{[47][46]} The Tamil villagers saw smoke rising from their burning houses. As the attackers neared the Pillaiyar Temple, many of the villagers sought refuge at the Periyathambiran Temple, with the mob following closely behind.

An armoured car carrying six (6) Sri Lankan army soldiers arrived at the temple premises. However, the soldiers did not take part in the attack themselves. Tamil youths pleaded with the soldiers to prevent the imminent attack, but the soldiers reportedly stated that, since Tamils had killed Muslims, the army could not intervene. The soldiers then waved their hands, which the mob interpreted as a signal to begin the assault.

The attackers began to desecrate the temple, taking sacred objects such as the Trident and spear from the sanctum, which were used against the civilians. Men seated on the ground were stabbed and hacked, while women and children were also killed. Many victims attempted to flee through the back, but most did not return alive. Among the dead were entire families, including a young mother, Vijeyaluxmy, and her infant child.^{[47][46]} Specifically, the husband of the person who gave this testimony was among those who did not survive the massacre.

Witnesses reported that the soldiers' presence appeared to encourage the attackers, which led some people to wonder whether it was a joint attack of the Sri Lankan Army and the Muslim Home Guards.^{[47][46]} When gunfire was later heard, the soldiers fled in their armoured car, followed by the mob shouting that “Tigers are coming.” Subsequently, members of the Special Task Force (STF) arrived, firing as they advanced, and drove away the remaining attackers.

When the STF entered the area, they discovered a scene of mass slaughter: dozens of Tamil men, women, and children were dead or mutilated, with blood and flesh scattered all over the temple.^{[47][46]} The victims were frozen in shock and the chief of the STF promised protection to the victims. Importantly, the account notes that the Tamil villagers did not fight back.

Polonnaruwa Massacre (Muthugal & Karapola Villages) Testimonies

The following summary of events is based on the Amnesty International Report which documented the abuses from the Polonnaruwa Massacres by collecting survivor testimonies and publishing the names of the victims: ^{[74][5]}

More than eighty Tamil villagers from the nearby villages of Muthugal and Karapola were intentionally killed by Home Guards, apparently in retaliation for an alleged LTTE attack on the Muslim village of Alanchipothana on 29 April 1992. ^{[5][76]}

Some Sri Lankan policemen from Karapola joined the Home Guards in Muthugal, where they shot and stabbed dozens of Tamil villagers to death. They then returned to Karapola, where an additional thirty-eight (38) people were allegedly killed. Around 9 am, they went back to Muthugal and continued the killings until approximately 10 am, when the army arrived and forced them to retreat.

One of the victims of this massacre reported, in a residence where a group of Tamils had taken refuge, the eye-witness' son was shot in the chest by a Home Guard as he stood against the door to prevent the perpetrators from entering. Other eyewitnesses also corroborated his account, and added there were seven further victims including three children aged two, four and twelve documented in this particular incident. Another incident resulted in the deaths of Sivapathy and her three-year-old child, Sinnarasiah Thangeswaran, who were shot as she tried to protect the older children in the household.

Many villagers who had fled Muthugal were later found hiding in paddy fields by Home Guards from Madurangala. According to Amnesty's report, a witness identified as the wife of Peiris Wijayasinghe recalled that a group of Home Guards brought six detainees to their residence in Madurangala. Among them was P. Packiyarajah, a relative of hers, as well as a woman from Muthugal. In a subsequent interview, she provided a detailed account of the events that unfolded that day:

"They asked my husband whether he knew Packiyarajah of Muthugal... My husband then said, '... they are innocent and it is out of fear that they had hidden in the paddy [rice] fields'. The Home Guards then beat my husband with rifle butts and with their hands. Soon afterwards the Karapola policemen came... and they beat all the six men, including my husband, and ordered all of them to get into a white van. They said they were taking them to the Karapola police station."^[5]

Sri Lankan Army personnel from the Welikande army camp allegedly entered the area around 6:30 am.^[5] The reported death toll in Muthugal was fifty-one (51), including thirteen (13) children under the age of ten (10). A list of the names of the fifty-one (51) victims executed in Muthugal and thirty-one (31) of the thirty-eight (38) killed in Karapola in these Massacres, was published by Amnesty International. ^[5]

References

1. "Shielding The Innocent - Rear Admiral Sarath Weerasekara" (https://web.archive.org/web/20130123091722/http://www.businesstoday.lk/cover_page.php?issue=207). *BusinessToday.lk*. May 2009. Archived from the original (http://www.businesstoday.lk/cover_page.php?issue=207) on 2013-01-23. Retrieved 2025-09-26.
2. "Mobilization And Supplementary Forces Act (No. 40 of 1985)" (http://www.commonlii.org/lk/legis/num_act/masfa40o1985448/). *www.commonlii.org*. Retrieved 2025-09-27.
3. "New Muslim battalion amid militancy furore | Tamil Guardian" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250926193915/https://www.tamilguardian.com/content/new-muslim-battalion-a-mid-militancy-furore>). *www.tamilguardian.com*. Archived from the original (<https://www.tamilguardian.com/content/new-muslim-battalion-amid-militancy-furore>) on 26 September 2025. Retrieved 2025-09-30.
4. "Islamic Fractions Hand Over their Weapons" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20190928051653/http://www.army.lk/node/38128>). *www.army.lk*. Archived from the original (<https://www.army.lk/node/38128>) on 2019-09-28. Retrieved 2025-09-25.
5. "Deliberate killings of Muslim and Tamil villagers in Polonnaruwa" (<https://www.amnesty.org/en/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/asa370101992en.pdf>) (PDF). *Amnesty Reports on Sri Lanka*.
6. "Civil Security Department: The Deep Militarisation of the Vanni" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250927211153/https://adayaalam.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/ACPR-Report-Civil-Security-Department-The-Deep-Militarisation-of-the-Vanni-.pdf>) (PDF). *Adayaalam Centre for Policy Research*. 20 September 2017. Archived from the original on 27 September 2025. Retrieved 27 September 2025.
7. "Ministry of Defence - Sri Lanka" (https://web.archive.org/web/20230127181715/https://www.defence.lk/Article/view_article/3948). *www.defence.lk*. Archived from the original (https://www.defence.lk/Article/view_article/3948) on 2023-01-27. Retrieved 2025-09-27.
8. Irene, Trapani (December 2022). "Forgotten Histories – Sri Lanka's civil war and diaspora" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250926211759/https://eumomi.sp.unipi.it/wp-content/uploads/2022/12/IRENE-TRAPANI-Forgotten-Histories-%E2%80%93-Sri-Lanka's-civil-war-and-diaspora.pdf>) (PDF). *UNIPi*. Archived from the original (<https://eumomi.sp.unipi.it/wp-content/uploads/2022/12/IRENE-TRAPANI-Forgotten-Histories-%E2%80%93-Sri-Lanka's-civil-war-and-diaspora.pdf>) (PDF) on 26 September 2025.
9. "Full text: Tamil Tiger proposals" (https://web.archive.org/web/20250926211307/http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/3232913.stm). 2003-11-01. Archived from the original (http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/3232913.stm) on 26 September 2025. Retrieved 2025-09-26.

10. "Surface calm, pervasive fear" (<https://frontline.thehindu.com/magazine/issue/vol02-24/>). *Frontline*. 13 December 1985. p. 31. Retrieved 2025-09-26.
11. "15 Years Since Sri Lanka's Conflict Ended, No Justice for War Crimes | Human Rights Watch" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250926134350/https://www.hrw.org/news/2024/05/14/15-years-sri-lankas-conflict-ended-no-justice-war-crimes>). Archived from the original (<https://www.hrw.org/news/2024/05/14/15-years-sri-lankas-conflict-ended-no-justice-war-crimes>) on 26 September 2025. Retrieved 2025-09-26.
12. "ECCHR: Sri Lankan civil war: Government officials still unpunished" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250926134252/https://www.ecchr.eu/en/case/sri-lankan-civil-war-government-officials-still-unpunished/>). *www.ecchr.eu*. Archived from the original (<https://www.ecchr.eu/en/case/sri-lankan-civil-war-government-officials-still-unpunished/>) on 26 September 2025. Retrieved 2025-09-26.
13. "Sri Lanka - United States Department of State" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20251023103636/https://www.state.gov/reports/2022-country-reports-on-human-rights-practices/sri-lanka/>). *United States Department of State*. Archived from the original (<https://www.state.gov/reports/2022-country-reports-on-human-rights-practices/sri-lanka/>) on 2025-10-23. Retrieved 2025-10-23.
14. "Authority without accountability: The crisis of impunity in Sri Lanka" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20251023103449/https://reliefweb.int/attachments/f1a1e253-37ff-3737-b133-7e8bfadc1937/SRI-LANKA-IMPUNITY-REPORT-NOV-12-FINAL.pdf>) (PDF). *reliefweb.int*. International Commission of Jurists. November 2012. Archived from the original (<https://reliefweb.int/attachments/f1a1e253-37ff-3737-b133-7e8bfadc1937/SRI-LANKA-IMPUNITY-REPORT-NOV-12-FINAL.pdf>) (PDF) on 2025-10-23. Retrieved 2025-10-23.
15. Muggah, Robert (2008). *Relocation failures in Sri Lanka: a short history of internal displacement and resettlement*. London, England: Zed Books. pp. 108–134. ISBN 978-1-84813-046-3.
16. "State Terrorism". *Tamil Times*. February 1985. p. 14.
17. "THE BOTTOM LINE" (https://web.archive.org/web/20080530091649/http://www.thebottomline.lk/2008/05/28/asiseeit_col.html). *www.thebottomline.lk*. Archived from the original (http://www.thebottomline.lk/2008/05/28/asiseeit_col.html) on 2008-05-30. Retrieved 2025-09-24.
18. "Janaka Perera - Sri Lanka" (https://web.archive.org/web/20110606070649/http://www.lankanewspapers.com/news/2008/10/33220_space.html). *www.lankanewspapers.com*. Archived from the original (http://www.lankanewspapers.com/news/2008/10/33220_space.html) on 2011-06-06. Retrieved 2025-09-24.
19. "Asia Times: SRI LANKA: THE UNTOLD STORY Chapter 31: Indira Gandhi - a casualty of" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20060615040549/http://www.atimes.com/ind-pak/DC16Df02.html>). *www.atimes.com*. Archived from the original (<http://www.atimes.com/ind-pak/DC16Df02.html>) on 2006-06-15. Retrieved 2025-09-24.
20. "Massacre of 32 Tamils by the Sri Lankan army remembered in Othiyamalai | Tamil Guardian" (<https://www.tamilguardian.com/content/massacre-32-tamils-sri-lankan-army-remembered-othiyamalai>). *www.tamilguardian.com*. Retrieved 2025-09-24.
21. "Special Report No. 26 - Can the East be won through Human Culling?" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250924103222/https://uthr.org/SpecialReports/spreport26.htm>). *University Teachers for Human Rights*. August 3, 2007. Archived from the original on September 24, 2025.
22. "Massacres of Tamils, 1956-2008" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250924103027/https://noolaham.net/project/858/85760/85760.pdf>) (PDF). *Manitham Publishers*: 63–65. 2009. ISBN 978-81-909737-0-0. Archived from the original on 2025-09-24. Retrieved 2025-09-24.
23. "100s killed in massacre of Tamils, 25,000 homeless". *Daily Telegraph*. June 10, 1985.
24. "OPERATION MURUGAPURI, An Eyewitness Account". *Tamil Times*. November 1985. p. 17.
25. "Operation Nilaveli: War on refugees". *Tamil Times*. October 1985. p. 10.
26. "Massacres of Tamils, 1956-2008" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250924103027/https://noolaham.net/project/858/85760/85760.pdf>) (PDF). *Manitham Publishers*: 87–89. 2009. ISBN 978-81-909737-0-0. Archived from the original on 2025-09-24. Retrieved 2025-09-24.
27. "Home guards kill 15 Tamils watching video film". *Tamil Times*. October 1985. p. 11.
28. "அவர்கள் பார்வையில் சிறுவரும் போராளிகள்!". *Uthayan*. December 13, 1985. pp. 1–4.
29. "Home guards raped and shot two Tamil women". *Tamil Times*. February 1986. p. 18.
30. Frerks, Georg; Sivanathan, Pasupathy; Kariyakarawana, Saman; Abeyratne, Upul; Abdullah, Rameez; Klem, Bart; Nederlands Instituut voor Internationale Betrekkingen Clingendael, eds. (2005). *Dealing with diversity: Sri Lankan discourses on peace and conflict* (2. Aufl ed.). The Hague: The Netherlands Institute of International Relations 'Clingendael'. p. 118. ISBN 978-90-5031-091-8.
31. Hawksley, Humphrey (22 February 1986). "Tamils murdered in Akkaraipattu - 1986" (<https://tamilnation.org/indictment/indict041.htm>). *The Guardian via Tamil Nation*. Retrieved 2025-09-23.
32. *DSA News Review on South Asia/Indian Ocean*. Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses. pp. 1985.p.363.
33. "Udumbankulam farmer's massacre". *Tamil Times*. May 1986. p. 8.
34. *Massacres of Tamils, 1956-2008* (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250924212407/https://sangam.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/02/English-Massacres-of-Tamils-1956-2008.pdf>) (PDF). *Manitham Publishers*. 2009. pp. 62–63. ISBN 978-81-909737-0-0. Archived from the original on 2025-09-24. Retrieved 2025-09-25.
35. TELEGRAPH, COLOMBO (2014-12-19). "May 1986 - The Death Of The Tamil Struggle And A New Rationale For Massacres" (<https://www.colombotelegraph.com/index.php/may-1986-the-death-of-the-tamil-struggle-and-a-new-rational-e-for-massacres/>). *Colombo Telegraph*. Retrieved 2025-09-24.
36. "Home guards kill 34". *Tamil Times*. August 1986. p. 6.
37. *Massacres of Tamils 1956-2008 (Digitized in English)* (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250924212407/https://sangam.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/02/English-Massacres-of-Tamils-1956-2008.pdf>) (PDF). *Manitham Publishers*. 2009. pp. 63–64. ISBN 978-81-909737-0-0. Archived from the original (<https://sangam.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/02/English-Massacres-of-Tamils-1956-2008.pdf>) (PDF) on 2025-09-24. Retrieved 2025-09-26.
38. "Villagers slain in Sri Lanka attack". *Chicago Tribune*. July 11, 1986. p. 12.
39. "Massacres of Tamils, 1956-2008" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250924103027/https://noolaham.net/project/858/85760/85760.pdf>) (PDF). *Manitham Publishers*: 135–136. 2009. ISBN 978-81-909737-0-0. Archived from the original on 2025-09-24. Retrieved 2025-09-24.
40. "கல்முனையில் செவ்வாய் 31 தமிழர் வெட்டிக்கொலை". *Uthayan*. 12 July 1990. p. 4.
41. UTHR(J) (16 October 1990). "Special Report No. 3: The War And Its Consequences in the Amparai District" (https://web.archive.org/web/20250924122743/https://www.uthr.org/SpecialReports/spreport3.htm#_Toc15893115). *www.uthr.org*. Archived from the original (https://www.uthr.org/SpecialReports/spreport3.htm#_Toc15893115) on 2025-09-24. Retrieved 2025-09-24.

42. "Massacres of Tamils, 1956-2008" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250924103027/https://noolaham.net/project/858/85760/85760.pdf>) (PDF). *Manitham Publishers*: 136–139. 2009. Archived from the original on 2025-09-24. Retrieved 2025-09-24.
43. "Special Report No. 3, The War And Its Consequences in the Amparai District" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250924122743/https://www.uthr.org/SpecialReports/spreport3.htm>). *www.uthr.org*. 16 October 1990. Archived from the original (<https://www.uthr.org/SpecialReports/spreport3.htm>) on 2025-09-24. Retrieved 2025-09-24.
44. "Massacres of Tamils, 1956-2008" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250924103027/https://noolaham.net/project/858/85760/85760.pdf>) (PDF). *Manitham Publishers*: 74–87. 2009. ISBN 978-81-909737-0-0. Archived from the original on 2025-09-24. Retrieved 2025-09-24.
45. "32nd anniversary of Veeramunai massacre commemorated in Amparai | Tamil Guardian" (<https://www.tamilguardian.com/content/32nd-anniversary-veeramunai-massacre-commemorated-amparai>). *www.tamilguardian.com*. Retrieved 2025-11-04.
46. "From the war front". *Tamil Times*. August 1990. p. 11.
47. "Massacres of Tamils, 1956-2008" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250924103027/https://noolaham.net/project/858/85760/85760.pdf>) (PDF). *Manitham Publishers*: 147–153. 2009. ISBN 978-81-909737-0-0. Archived from the original on 2025-09-24. Retrieved 2025-09-24.
48. "Thiraiakerny massacre 06 Aug 1990" (<https://genocideagainsttamils.com/?p=3439>). *Genocide Against Tamil*. 15 September 2021.
49. "Tiraiakerny massacre" (<https://telibrary.com/en/tiraiakerny-massacre>). 6 August 2021. Retrieved 2025-11-04.
50. Webmaster, Sangam. "Remembering a Martyr - Sangam.org" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20180930230358/http://www.sangam.org/articles/view2/?uid=1162>). *www.sangam.org*. Archived from the original (<http://www.sangam.org/articles/view2/?uid=1162>) on 2018-09-30. Retrieved 2025-09-30.
51. "Mystery of the Murder of an American Priest in Batticaloa – Ilankai Tamil Sangam" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250930095958/https://sangam.org/mystery-of-the-murder-of-an-american-priest-in-batticaloa/>). *sangam.org*. Archived from the original (<https://sangam.org/mystery-of-the-murder-of-an-american-priest-in-batticaloa/>) on 30 September 2025. Retrieved 2025-09-30.
52. "The Disappearance of 'Father Basketball' in Batticaloa, Sri Lanka – Ilankai Tamil Sangam" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250930100051/https://sangam.org/the-disappearance-of-father-basketball-in-batticaloa-sri-lanka/>). *sangam.org*. Archived from the original (<https://sangam.org/the-disappearance-of-father-basketball-in-batticaloa-sri-lanka/>) on 2025-09-30. Retrieved 2025-09-30.
53. "31st anniversary of forcibly disappeared Father commemorated in Batticaloa" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250930100313/https://www.tamilguardian.com/content/31st-anniversary-forcibly-disappeared-father-commemorated-batticaloa>). *www.tamilguardian.com*. Archived from the original (<https://www.tamilguardian.com/content/31st-anniversary-forcibly-disappeared-father-commemorated-batticaloa>) on 30 September 2025. Retrieved 2025-09-30.
54. "Statue unveiled for Father who was forcibly disappeared in Batticaloa 30 years ago" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250930100523/https://www.tamilguardian.com/content/statue-unveiled-father-who-was-forcibly-disappeared-batticaloa-30-years-ago>). *Tamil Guardian*. Archived from the original (<https://www.tamilguardian.com/content/statue-unveiled-father-who-was-forcibly-disappeared-batticaloa-30-years-ago>) on 30 September 2025. Retrieved 2025-09-30.
55. "ASA 37/015/1994 Sri Lanka: When will justice be done?" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20160306073802/https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/184000/asa370151994en.pdf>) (PDF). *Amnesty International*. 30 June 1994. Archived from the original (<https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/184000/asa370151994en.pdf>) (PDF) on 2016-03-06. Retrieved 2025-09-24.
56. "Human Rights Watch World Report 2002: Asia: Sri Lanka" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250713115800/https://www.hrw.org/legacy/wr2k2/asia10.html>). *www.hrw.org*. Archived from the original (<https://www.hrw.org/legacy/wr2k2/asia10.html>) on 2025-07-13. Retrieved 2025-09-24.
57. "Report No. 7: The Clash of Ideologies and the Continuing Tragedy in the Batticaloa and Amparai Districts – Ch 4: The Refugee Camp at the Eastern University, Vantharumoolai" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250924133329/https://uthr.org/Reports/Report7/chapter4.htm>). *University Teachers for Human Rights*. 8 May 1991. Archived from the original (<https://uthr.org/Reports/Report7/chapter4.htm>) on 2025-09-24. Retrieved 2025-09-24.
58. Rajasegar, Selvaraja (2020-09-10). "The Sathurukondan Massacre: Witnesses Speak - Groundviews" (<https://groundviews.org/2020/09/10/the-sathurukondan-massacre-witnesses-speak/>). Retrieved 2025-09-23.
59. Hoole, Rajan; Thiranagama, Rajani (2001). *Sri Lanka, the arrogance of power: myths, decadence & murder: commemoration volume for Dr. Rajani Thiranagama, 23rd February 1954 - 21st September 1989* (1st ed.). Colombo: University Teachers for Human Rights Jaffna. pp. 378–397. ISBN 978-955-9447-04-7.
60. McDermott/Kripal (2003). McDermott, Rachel Fell; Kripal, Jeffrey J. (eds.). *Encountering Kali: In the Margins, at the Center, in the West*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press. ISBN 978-0-520-23240-2.
61. Caron, Cynthia (15 March 2003). "Floundering Peace Process: Need to Widen Participation" (<https://www.jstor.org/stable/4413336>). *Economic and Political Weekly*. **38** (11): 1029–1031. JSTOR 4413336 (<https://www.jstor.org/stable/4413336>).
62. "Report No. 8: The Debasement of Law and of Humanity and the Drift Towards Total War - Ch 2: Batticaloa and Amparai Districts" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250924135513/https://uthr.org/Reports/Report8/chapter2.htm>). *University Teachers for Human Rights*. 28 August 1991. Archived from the original (<https://uthr.org/Reports/Report8/chapter2.htm>) on 2025-09-24. Retrieved 2025-09-24.
63. Lawrence, Patricia (2003). *The ocean of stories: children's imagination, creativity, and reconciliation in eastern Sri Lanka*. Colombo, Sri Lanka: International Centre for Ethnic Studies. ISBN 978-955-580-076-1.
64. "A luxury they cannot afford" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250923124942/https://www.tamilnet.com/art.html?catid=79&artid=7375>). *TamilNet*. 10 December 1997. Archived from the original (<https://www.tamilnet.com/art.html?catid=79&artid=7375>) on 2025-09-23. Retrieved 2025-09-23.
65. *Massacres of Tamils, 1956-2008* (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250924103027/https://noolaham.net/project/858/85760/85760.pdf>) (PDF). *Manitham Publishers*. 2009. pp. 159–167. ISBN 978-81-909737-0-0. Archived from the original (<https://noolaham.net/project/858/85760/85760.pdf>) (PDF) on 24 September 2025.
66. "33 Tamils killed by Sri Lankan Army in 1990 Savukkadi massacre remembered in Batticaloa | Tamil Guardian" (<https://www.tamilguardian.com/content/33-tamils-killed-sri-lankan-army-1990-savukkadi-massacre-remembered-batticaloa>). *www.tamilguardian.com*. Retrieved 2025-09-23.
67. "Another Black September massacre remembered in Batticaloa" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250923121019/https://www.tamilnet.com/art.html?artid=12938>). *TamilNet*. 20 September 2004. Archived from the original on 2025-09-23. Retrieved 2025-09-23.

68. "Sept 20, 1990 – Batticaloa massacre: 47 Tamils were hacked and shot to death by Sri Lankan army troops" (<http://nitter.net/30sec2remember/status/1307699363951632385#m>). *nitter.net*. Archived (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250923021139/https://nitter.net/pic/orig/media%2FG1UnJCoXMAAQXVR.jpg>) from the original on 2025-09-23. Retrieved 2025-09-23.
69. "Batticaloa locals remember 17 Tamils killed by Muslim Home Guards in Puthukudiyiruppu massacre | Tamil Guardian" (<https://www.tamilguardian.com/content/batticaloa-locals-remember-17-tamils-killed-muslim-home-guards-puthukudiyiruppu-massacre>). *www.tamilguardian.com*. Retrieved 2025-09-23.
70. "17 Tamils massacred by SL army and Muslim homeguards remembered | Tamil Guardian" (<https://www.tamilguardian.com/content/17-tamils-massacred-sl-army-and-muslim-homeguards-remembered>). *www.tamilguardian.com*. Retrieved 2025-09-23.
71. "News round up". *Tamil Times*. January 1991. p. 14.
72. "ASA 37/014/1991 Sri Lanka: The Northeast: Human rights violations in a context of armed conflict" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20150606203713/https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/196000/asa370141991en.pdf>) (PDF). *Amnesty International*. 31 August 1991. Archived from the original (<https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/196000/asa370141991en.pdf>) (PDF) on 2015-06-06. Retrieved 2025-09-24.
73. "News round up". *Tamil Times*. March 1991. p. 21.
74. "Sri Lanka: Deliberate killings of Muslim and Tamil villagers in Polonnaruwa" (<https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/asa37/010/1992/en/>). *Amnesty International*. 1992-05-31. Retrieved 2025-09-23.
75. *Massacres of Tamils, 1956-2008* (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250924212407/https://sangam.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/02/English-Massacres-of-Tamils-1956-2008.pdf>) (PDF). Manitham Publishers. 2009. pp. 129–130. ISBN 978-81-909737-0-0. Archived from the original (<https://sangam.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/02/English-Massacres-of-Tamils-1956-2008.pdf>) (PDF) on 2025-09-24. Retrieved 2025-09-25.
76. "Grand Jury Indictment for Genocide: USA vs Gotabaya Rajapaksa & Sarath Fonseka" (<https://www.tamilnet.com/img/publish/2009/08/Final800pindictmentDocument.pdf>) (PDF). *Counsel for Tamils Against Genocide (Bruce Fein & Associates, Inc.)*.
77. TamilNet (24 September 1997). "Massacre in eastern Tamil village: 8 killed" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250924153200/https://www.tamilnet.com/art.html?catid=13&artid=7327>). *www.tamilnet.com*. Archived from the original (<https://www.tamilnet.com/art.html?catid=13&artid=7327>) on 2025-09-24. Retrieved 2025-09-24.
78. "Sri Lanka: Government forces kill eight civilians - justice needed now" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20230111152818/https://www.amnesty.org/en/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/asa370021998en.pdf>) (PDF). *www.amnesty.org*. 3 February 1998. Archived from the original (<https://www.amnesty.org/en/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/asa370021998en.pdf>) (PDF) on 2023-01-11. Retrieved 2025-09-24.
79. TamilNet (27 January 2000). "Massacre accused shot dead" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250924154232/https://www.tamilnet.com/art.html?catid=13&artid=4577>). *www.tamilnet.com*. Archived from the original (<https://www.tamilnet.com/art.html?catid=13&artid=4577>) on 2025-09-24. Retrieved 2025-09-24.
80. "Tamils Kill 110 Muslims at 2 Sri Lankan Mosques" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20160306093117/http://www.nytimes.com/1990/08/05/world/tamils-kill-110-muslims-at-2-sri-lankan-mosques.html>). 5 August 1990. Archived from the original (<https://www.nytimes.com/1990/08/05/world/tamils-kill-110-muslims-at-2-sri-lankan-mosques.html>) on 2016-03-06. Retrieved 2025-09-26.
81. Hodgins, Deanna (22 October 1990). "An Ethnic Inferno in Island Paradise via From Sachis Files: Ch 4 – Ilankai Tamil Sangam" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250926171850/http://sangam.org/sachis-files-chapter-4-2/>). *Insight on the News via sangam.org*. Archived from the original (<https://sangam.org/sachis-files-chapter-4-2/>) on 26 September 2025. Retrieved 2025-09-26.
82. Trawick, Margaret (2007). *Enemy lines: childhood, warfare and play in Batticaloa*. Los Angeles: University of California press. ISBN 978-0-520-24515-0.
83. "Report 5, Chapter 2 (A Bloody Stalemate)" (https://www.uthr.org/Reports/Report5/chapter2.htm#_Toc515633804). *www.uthr.org*. Retrieved 2025-09-25.
84. Ravindran, Jeevan (2023-05-08). "In Sri Lanka, Tamils Are Divided Over the Tigers' Militant Legacy" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250926195035/https://newlinesmag.com/reportage/in-sri-lanka-tamils-are-divided-over-the-tigers-militant-legacy/>). *New Lines Magazine*. Archived from the original (<https://newlinesmag.com/reportage/in-sri-lanka-tamils-are-divided-over-the-tigers-militant-legacy/>) on 26 September 2025. Retrieved 2025-09-26.
85. "Muslim militants hand over weapons" (https://web.archive.org/web/20250925145708/https://www.sundaytimes.lk/090705/News/sundaytimesnews_16.html). *www.sundaytimes.lk*. Archived from the original (https://www.sundaytimes.lk/090705/News/sundaytimesnews_16.html) on 2025-09-25. Retrieved 2025-09-25.
86. "Kattankudy-weapons - Sri Lankan Muslim jihadi or Home Guard handing over weapon (4).jpg" (<https://yarl.com/forum3/gallery/image/31131-kattankudy-weapons-sri-lankan-muslim-jihadi-or-home-guard-handing-over-weapon-4jpg/>). *கருத்துக்களம்* (in Tamil). Archived (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250925103427/https://yarl.com/forum3/gallery/image/31131-kattankudy-weapons-sri-lankan-muslim-jihadi-or-home-guard-handing-over-weapon-4jpg/>) from the original on 2025-09-25. Retrieved 2025-09-29.
87. TamilNet (5 July 2009). "Eastern armed Muslim groups surrender weapons" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20120118060550/https://www.tamilnet.com/art.html?artid=29723&catid=13>). *www.tamilnet.com*. Archived from the original (<https://www.tamilnet.com/art.html?artid=29723&catid=13>) on 2012-01-18. Retrieved 2025-09-25.
88. admin (2021-12-02). "Othiyamalai massacre 02.12.1984 - Tamil Heritage" (<https://telibrary.com/en/othiyamalai-massacre-02-12-1984/>). Retrieved 2025-09-23.
89. "Massacre of 32 Tamils by the Sri Lankan army remembered in Othiyamalai | Tamil Guardian" (<https://www.tamilguardian.com/content/massacre-32-tamils-sri-lankan-army-remembered-othiyamalai>). *www.tamilguardian.com*. Retrieved 2025-09-23.
90. "Othiyamalai massacre of 32 Tamils by Sri Lankan military remembered | Tamil Guardian" (<https://www.tamilguardian.com/content/othiyamalai-massacre-32-tamils-sri-lankan-military-remembered-0>). *www.tamilguardian.com*. Retrieved 2025-09-23.
91. "ஓதியமலைப் படுகொலைகள்" (<https://ta.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=%E0%AE%92%E0%AE%A4%E0%AE%BF%E0%AE%AF%E0%AE%AE%E0%AE%B2%E0%AF%88%E0%AE%AA%E0%AF%8D%E0%AE%AA%E0%AE%9F%E0%AF%81%E0%AE%95%E0%AF%8A%E0%AE%B2%E0%AF%88%E0%AE%95%E0%AE%B3%E0%AF%8D&oldid=4251989>). *தமிழ் விக்கிப்பீடியா* (in Tamil), 2025-04-12, retrieved 2025-09-23
92. "Othiyamalai massacre 01 Dec1984 – Genocide Against Tamil" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250930070348/https://genocideagainsttamils.com/?p=3257>). Archived from the original (<https://genocideagainsttamils.com/?p=3257>) on 30 September 2025. Retrieved 2025-09-30.
93. "Veeramunai massacre" (<https://tamilamericansunited.com/genocide/veeramunai-massacre/>). *Tamil Americans United*. Retrieved 2025-09-23.

94. Mr, Paluvets (2025-08-16). "The Story of Veeramunai: How Muslim Home Guards Carried Out the Largest Massacre of Tamils in the East!" (<https://www.mrpaluvets.com/2025/08/the-story-of-veeramunai-how-muslim-home.html>). Retrieved 2025-09-23.
95. "Veeramunai massacre 20 June 1990 – Genocide Against Tamil" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250930070440/https://genocideagainstitamils.com/?p=3425>). Archived from the original (<https://genocideagainstitamils.com/?p=3425>) on 30 September 2025. Retrieved 2025-09-30.
96. "Tamils murdered in Akkaraipattu - 1986" (<https://tamilnation.org/indictment/indict041>). *tamilnation.org*. Retrieved 2025-09-23.
97. "Thiraiakerny marks 35 years since 1990 massacre with calls to exhume mass grave | Tamil Guardian" (<https://www.tamilguardian.com/content/thiraiakerny-marks-35-years-1990-massacre-calls-exhume-mass-grave>). *www.tamilguardian.com*. Retrieved 2025-09-23.
98. admin (2021-08-06). "Tiraiakerny massacre 06.08.1990 - Tamil Heritage" (<https://telibrary.com/en/tiraiakerny-massacre/>). Retrieved 2025-09-23.
99. "Thiraiakerny massacre 06 Aug 1990 – Genocide Against Tamil" (<https://genocideagainstitamils.com/?p=3439>). Retrieved 2025-09-23.
100. "Sri Lankan Tamil rebels commemorate civilian killings in eastern town" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20110614220937/http://www.highbeam.com/Search?searchTerm=Sri%20Lankan%20Tamil%20rebels%20commemorate>). *Xinhua News Agency*. 1 July 2007. Archived from the original (<http://www.highbeam.com/doc/1G1-107266313.html>) on 14 June 2011.
101. "Black September remembrance in Batticaloa university" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250929135719/https://www.tamilnet.com/art.html?catid=13&artid=7437>). *TamilNet*. 5 September 2002. Archived from the original (<https://www.tamilnet.com/art.html?catid=13&artid=7437>) on 29 September 2025. Retrieved 2025-09-29.
102. TamilNet (10 December 1997). "A luxury they cannot afford" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250923124942/https://www.tamilnet.com/art.html?catid=79&artid=7375>). *TamilNet*. Archived from the original on 2025-09-23. Retrieved 2025-09-23.
103. "Welcome to UTHRJ: Report 7, Chapter 4" (<https://uthr.org/Reports/Report7/chapter4.htm>). *uthr.org*. Retrieved 2025-09-23.
104. "Sri Lanka: The "disappearances" from Eastern University Refugee Camp on 5 September 1990" (<https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/asa37/019/1993/en/>). *Amnesty International*. 1993-10-26. Retrieved 2025-09-23.
105. "Searching for 34 Years for the 158 People Handed Over to the Military - Dr. T. Jayasingham" (<https://puja.lk/story/searching-for-34-years-for-the-158-people-handed-over-to-the-military-dr-t-jayasingham/>). *PUJA*. Retrieved 2025-09-23.
106. Jayasingam, Thangamuthu (2025-09-04). "35 Years Of Missing: Ray Of Hope For Truth On The 158 Missing From Eastern University Refugee Camp" (<https://www.colombotelegraph.com/index.php/35-years-of-missing-ray-of-hope-for-truth-on-the-158-missing-from-eastern-university-refugee-camp/>). *Colombo Telegraph*. Retrieved 2025-09-23.
107. AsiaNews.it. "Batticaloa Tamil women refuse to forget the men" (<https://www.asianews.it/news-en/Batticaloa-Tamil-women-refuse-to-forget-the-men-taken-away-by-the-army-32690.html>). *www.asianews.it*. Retrieved 2025-09-23.
108. "158 Tamils disappeared from Eastern Uni in 1990 round-up remembered in Batticaloa | Tamil Guardian" (<https://www.tamilguardian.com/content/158-tamils-disappeared-eastern-university-1990-round-remembered-batticaloa>). *www.tamilguardian.com*. Retrieved 2025-09-23.
109. "158 disappeared & massacred Tamils remembered at Eastern Uni 28 years on | Tamil Guardian" (<https://www.tamilguardian.com/content/158-disappeared-massacred-tamils-remembered-eastern-uni-28-years>). *www.tamilguardian.com*. Retrieved 2025-09-23.
110. "காணாமலாக்கப்பட்ட 158 பேரின் 35ஆவது ஆண்டு நினைவேந்தல் - தமிழ்வின்" (<https://tamilwin.com/article/eastern-university-missing-persons-remembrance-day-1757102544>). *Tamilwin* (in Tamil). Retrieved 2025-09-23.
111. "35 வருடங்களின் முன்பு கிழக்குப் பல்கலைக்கழகத்தில் காணாமல் ஆக்கப்பட்ட 158பேர் - ஐபிசி தமிழ்" (<https://ibctamil.com/article/158-people-disappeared-from-eastern-university-1757095067>). *IBC Tamil* (in Tamil). Retrieved 2025-09-23.
112. "Report 8, Chapter 2: The massacre at Sathurukondan" (<https://www.uthr.org/Reports/Report8/chapter2.htm#c>). *www.uthr.org*. Retrieved 2025-09-23.
113. "Special Report No.12" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250930064009/https://www.uthr.org/SpecialReports/spreport12.htm>). *www.uthr.org*. Archived from the original (<https://www.uthr.org/SpecialReports/spreport12.htm>) on 30 September 2025. Retrieved 2025-09-30.
114. "Tamil massacre victim files police complaint demanding investigation into atrocity | Tamil Guardian" (<https://www.tamilguardian.com/content/tamil-massacre-victim-files-police-complaint-demanding-investigation-atrocity>). *www.tamilguardian.com*. Retrieved 2025-09-23.
115. "Saththrukondan Massacre of 185 innocent Tamils" (<https://countercurrents.org/2022/09/saththrukondan-massacre-of-185-innocent-tamils/>). *Countercurrents*. 2022-09-10. Retrieved 2025-11-05.
116. "UTHR(J): Report 7, Chapter 4 "Report on the Eastern University Massacre" " (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250924133329/https://uthr.org/Reports/Report7/chapter4.htm#h>). *www.uthr.org*. Archived from the original (<https://www.uthr.org/Reports/Report7/chapter4.htm#h>) on 24 September 2025. Retrieved 2025-09-26.
117. "Eastern University disappearances and massacre remembered 32 years on | Tamil Guardian" (<https://www.tamilguardian.com/content/eastern-university-disappearances-and-massacre-remembered-32-years>). *www.tamilguardian.com*. Retrieved 2025-09-23.
118. TELEGRAPH, COLOMBO (2015-09-03). "Eastern University Massacre: Missing, Missing, Missing For 25 Years" (<https://www.colombotelegraph.com/index.php/eastern-university-massacre-missing-missing-missing-for-25-years/>). *Colombo Telegraph*. Retrieved 2025-09-23.

Further Reading & External Links

- A major source for the documentation of these massacres is the book *Massacres of Tamils, 1956 - 2008* (<https://web.archive.org/web/20250924212407/https://sangam.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/02/English-Massacres-of-Tamils-1956-2008.pdf>), published by Manitham Publishers in 2009 (ISBN 978-81-909737-0-0). The book records 171 incidents over a 52-year period and is based on eyewitness testimonies and collected data. It was co-published by the North East Secretariat on Human Rights (NESOHR) and the Chennai-based human rights trust Manitham.

Independent reports, documentaries and texts

- Sri Lanka's Killing Fields (<http://www.channel4.com/programmes/sri-lankas-killing-fields/4od>) an investigative documentary by ITN/Channel 4

Sri Lankan civil war (1983–2009)				
Origins	Sri Lankan Tamil nationalism · Sinhalese Buddhist nationalism · Sinhala Only Act · 1956 · 1958 · Vaddukoddai Resolution · 1977 · 1981 (Burning of Jaffna Library) · Black July			
Combatants	 Sri Lanka	Army (LRRP) · Navy · Air Force · Police (Special Task Force) · Home Guards · Attacks on civilians (Assassinations)		
	 LTTE	Divisions · Air Tigers · Sea Tigers · Black Tigers · Attacks (in the 1970s · 1980s · 1990s · 2000s · Assassinations · Suicide bombings)		
	Other militants (list)	ENDLF · ENLF · EPRLF · EROS · PLOTE · TELO		
	 India	Indian Peace Keeping Force		
	 Paramilitary groups	EPDP · TMVP		
Phases	Eelam War I · Indian intervention · Eelam War II · III · IV (Eastern / Northern theatres)			
Major battles	Kokkilai · Vadamarachchi · Poomalai · Pawan · Jaffna University Helidrop · Balavegaya · 1st Elephant Pass · Pooneryn · Riviresa · 1st Mullaitivu · Weli Oya · Sath Jaya · Vavunathivu · Jayasikurui · Thandikulam–Omanthai · 1st Kilinochchi · Oddusuddan · A-9 highway · 2nd Elephant Pass · Bandaranaike Airport attack · Point Pedro · Jaffna · Thoppigala · Vidattaltivu · 2nd Kilinochchi · 2nd Mullaitivu · Puthukkudiyirippu			
Major events	Air Lanka Flight 512 · Indo-Sri Lanka Accord · Expulsions from Northern province · Assassination of Lalith Athulathmudali · Assassination of Rajiv Gandhi · Assassination of Ranasinghe Premadasa · Temple of the Tooth attack · Lionair Flight 602 · Bandaranaike Airport attack · Expulsions from Colombo · 2009 suicide air raid on Colombo			
Leaders	Sri Lanka	Military	Army	Tissa Weeratunga · Nalin Seneviratne · Hamilton Wanasinghe · Cecil Waidyaratne · G. H. De Silva · Rohan Daluwatte · Srilal Weerasooriya · L. P. Balagalle · Shantha Kottegoda · Sarath Fonseka
			Navy	Asoka de Silva · H. A. Silva · Clancy Fernando · D. A. M. R. Samarasekara · H. C. A. C. Thisera · Daya Sandagiri · Wasantha Karannagoda
			Air Force	Dick Perera · Andibuduge Fernando · Makalandage Gunawardena · Oliver Ranasinghe · Jayalath Weerakkody · Donald Perera · Roshan Goonetilleke
		Civilian	J. R. Jayewardene · Ranasinghe Premadasa · Dingiri Banda Wijetunga · Chandrika Kumaratunga · Mahinda Rajapaksa	
	LTTE	Militant	Velupillai Prabhakaran · Pottu Amman · Soosai · Karuna Amman	
		Political	Selvarasa Pathmanathan · Anton Balasingham · S. P. Thamilselvan	
	India	Military	Harkirat Singh · Ashok K. Mehta · Kulwant Singh · Depinder Singh · Dalvir Singh · Krishnaswamy Sundarji	
		Civilian	R. Venkataraman · Rajiv Gandhi · V. P. Singh · Jyotindra Nath Dixit · J. Jayalalithaa · M. Karunanidhi · Vaiko	
Aftermath	Genocide (Films · NPC resolution) · LLRC · Reactions (Protests) · Remembrance Day · UN Panel on Accountability · War crimes (Chemical weapons)			
Related topics	Casualties (Assassinations · Massacres) · Child soldiers · Disappearances (Office on Missing Persons) · Human rights · Popular culture · Terrorism (Non-state · State · PTA) · Sexual violence · Sixth Amendment · Thirteenth Amendment · Women · 1988 Maldives coup attempt · 1987–1989 JVP insurrection			
 Sri Lankan civil war at Wiktionary ·  Source texts at Wikisource ·  Textbooks at Wikibooks ·  Images and media at the Commons ·  Quotations at Wikiquote ·  News stories at Wikinews				

Retrieved from "https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Draft:Role_of_the_Sri_Lankan_Home_Guards_in_the_Sri_Lankan_Civil_War&oldid=1320889762"